20c MAY 11, 1953

WILL FRANCE LOSE INDO-CHINA?

# New Republic

## THE GOP GAMBLES WITH YOUR TAXES

*By Seymour Harris*

## ITALY MEETS MRS. LUCE

*By Donald Downes*

## WHO WILL CONTROL ATOMIC ENERGY?

*An Editorial*

*Edmund Wilson* • *The Revival of Daisy*

*Elizabeth Bowen* • *Modern Love*

*The Biography of Henry James*

MAY 7 1953

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# From Our Readers

### Communists in the Churches

● In your editorial "Communists in the Churches" (*NR* April 20) you state "the minister is given access to the most sacred matters in the lives of his congregation." This is verily true and it was because it is true that I refused before the Un-American Committee in September, 1951, to answer questions regarding members of my congregation to Representative Donald L. Jackson (R, Calif.). What surprises me is that you make the point so clearly in your first column of the editorial then castigate me for "taking refuge in the sanctity of the confessional." You cannot have it both ways. I would be a miserable minister of religion if I communicated to anyone, let alone a headline-seeking Congressman, the confidences of those who come to my study for counseling.

As for my other activities as a minister and citizen, I am more than willing to discuss them with one and all, anywhere, anytime. No subpoena is needed. It is high time many Americans heard something of the message thousands of churchmen have to share.

*Glendale, Calif.* STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

### The Legion in Nebraska

● When the Nebraska Unicameral convened a few months ago, a loyalty oath bill aimed at the University of Nebraska, was presented by one of the Senators, Mr. Terry Carpenter. A faculty committee immediately set to work to combat the bill in its committee stages. Reports from the Senators, however, indicated that it would probably pass. Then, a few days before it was to be brought to vote in committee, the bill was suddenly shelved. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Carpenter withdrew his bill. Our surprise turned to amazement when it was learned that certain leaders of the local American Legion post were instrumental among those who persuaded Mr. Carpenter that it would be politically inexpedient.

Last Fall, by resolution and later by a report of a special committee, the Lincoln post condemned a history professor at the university for using as a text a book which had been published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The attack was met with a storm of student and individual faculty member protest; numerous editorials in defense of the professor and his right to select his own text appeared in the campus newspaper and the Lincoln *Star*.

Although the Legion has not publicly retracted its stand, recent activities on its part indicate a definite change in the outlook and tactics. A few weeks ago it gave a $1,000 grant to finance a university study of democratic ideas taught and practiced in Nebraska schools. This action was followed by the behind-the-scenes squelching of the proposed loyalty oath. The Legion now appears to be committed to a constructive approach to the so-called Communist menace in schools and universities.

*Hickman, Nebr.* DON ZIGLER

### Liberals and Churchmen

● I would like to say that I agree with the views of Rev. John P. Wood (*NR* April 13) concerning the attitudes of liberals and intellectuals toward those who believe in a vital Christian experience.

I have been associated with liberal organizations, AVC, ADA and labor, for a number of years and have never been able to understand the intolerant attitude taken toward those who believe in the power of Christ to save from sin, and who believe in clean upright living. . . .

I sincerely hope that the liberals and intellectuals as well as the fundamentalists in the churches wake up to the fact, that it is possible to have a genuine experience of salvation and still believe in Point Four.

*Rossville, Ga.* THOMAS G. CARSON

### Consumers Protest

● "The Republican Era of Good Stealing" may be the phrase future historians will apply to these years. . . .

In Western New York State, tax money was used to build a Genesee River hydro-electric plant (disguised as a flood-control dam), but the operation of it was turned over to a private utility company that plays both ends to squeeze the middle class. . . .

Since Eisenhower became President, milk checks to New York State farmers shrunk by 38 percent. But the consumers here still pay 23 cents a quart. The retail price is just as high as it was before January, 1953. The distributing companies, Borden and Sheffield, get the gravy.

As an "economy measure, Secretary of Agriculture Benson has alerted the rules for grading meat. We have heard that the former standard methods of inspecting, grading and stamping meat employed by the government have been abolished. Packing houses are now permitted to grade their own beef, and this has resulted in "up-grading" of "utility" beef to "good" and "choice," a distinct saving for the packing houses. (Just the other day, we paid for "choice" and got "utility" brand—misbranded.) Butchers estimate that by "up-grading," packing houses are now getting eight cents a pound more for an untrimmed loin than before Benson and Eisenhower took over. Per-

*(Continued on page 4)*

# To Our Readers

● What happens when you print the facts about McCarthy? Among other things you invite comment by Fulton Lewis Jr. From Easton, Endicott, Erie, all the cities blessed by Hearst, come the clippings of Lewis' King Features column of April 20, complaining that the *New Republic* had no reason to reprint the Senate report on McCarthy's finances. "There are several kicking around my office," he declared; he would be glad to take care of all requests.

That was a generous gesture. But even if he had cornered all the 2,500 copies printed by the government, Mr. Lewis would be hard pressed. There are 125,000 additional copies in circulation now due to our publication.

And without much promotion. Our reprint was praised by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the labor newspapers. Several columnists and commentators including Mrs. Roosevelt and Frank Edwards gave it support. It was reprinted in full by the Los Angeles *Daily News*, the West Michigan *Labor News* and an Iowa daily newspaper. Beyond this, the word just spread.

We sent out large bulk orders to all of the major international unions and to the Democratic Organizing Committee in Wisconsin. Stevenson clubs, ADA chapters, teachers groups, men in veterans hospitals, church book stores and industrial councils from Sharon to Vallejo, and Kalispell to Grand Prairie, took 10 to a thousand copies. A janitor borrowed one and came back to buy half a dozen. A Chicago businessman sent copies to all his relatives in Athens. A Detroit commentator, seeing that none were available on newsstands, offered them free on request; 2,000 Detroit residents replied.

The rest of the orders came in dimes fastened to friendly letters with scotch tape. They almost overwhelmed our small office staff. Luckily we were helped out by volunteers. One kind lady even brought her mother and her 13-year-old son to stuff envelopes all day long.

We should have sold a hundred times this many. But we're content. We're even left with a tender feeling for Fulton Lewis. The heaviest shell he could fire at the *New Republic* was to call us "a publication used as a crying towel for the remnants of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson adulators." From Mr. Lewis we welcome that as a charge of innocence by association, we suspect that Acheson's shadow will lengthen long after his critics are forgotten.

*M. S.*

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New Republic

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## WASHINGTON WIRE

WHEN THE pressure becomes too great on an Administration and it must retreat, what does it do? It calls the retreat a victory.

President Eisenhower's Administration made pledges of quick budget-balancing and tax-cutting in the campaign which it now finds awkward to fulfill, but it must yield to the implacable pressure in Congress. On the other hand, to cut defense strength would be unpopular with voters when the USA is engaged in a life-and-death global struggle with Communism. The solution? The job is done by slashing national defense, attacking the previous Administration and meanwhile explaining that we are getting "more defense for less money." It's as simple as that. It would be a bit awkward to point out that Moscow, so far as is known, isn't cutting its military expenses a bit. Or to recall that ancient Rome collapsed, among other things, because the folks at home didn't want to pay taxes to support the legions.

**Secretary Dulles** is particularly adept at this sort of thing and prides himself on it. America is going to relax its defense contribution to Europe and Dulles has just come back from the Paris NATO meeting where he had to agree to let our allies relax their effort, too, if we cut ours. It is true the new policy will aid their economic position—which is helpful—but Dulles covered up the basic defense retrenchment with the declaration that there will be a "30-percent" increase of strength through greater efficiency despite the cuts. Ho-hum. . . . The Administration is particularly sensitive about labelling the big gamble a defense "stretch-out" which, of course, it is.

The most disturbing development is Dulles' tendency to shuffle off responsibility in Europe. Like a wolf slobbering with hunger, Congress is waiting to gobble up foreign aid. Dulles nonchalantly names one or two "tests of sincerity" for Europe to show its willingness to cooperate and then invites deeper Congressional cuts if these aren't quickly met.

The whole postulate for European economic recovery is wider trade with America. Here as everywhere Ike has made generous, magnanimous statements. But to implement them in Congress where sectional interests dominate requires bold, independent leadership—the kind of leadership voters hoped to get when they elected Ike. Ike could have got the low tariff, reciprocal trade act extended for the normal three years easily if he had asserted his prestige. Instead he compromised: extend it one year, he said, and meanwhile name a study commission on tariffs. Europe accepts this as a sign of Administration vacillation and weakness; high tariff lobbyists whooped with delight. Big, firm, dignified, richly paid men these lobbyists are: they are appearing now at the rate of a dozen a day before the respectful House Ways and Means Committee; 250 of them will have told how special economic groups need tariff protection by May 20 when hearings end.

Ike has a penchant for commissions. It is like Hoover's. Commissions postpone things; save him from decisions now (when his prestige is highest). Farm, foreign trade, tariffs, federal-state relationships, labor, governmental reorganization—these are some of them and more are in sight. This is a new form of administration.

**Of all the sections** of America the South is least affected by McCarthyism. It is a phenomenon we have long noted and mused on. "Liberal" Wisconsin produced McCarthy; Alabama and Virginia can take him or leave him. Why? Well, for one thing McCarthyism stands essentially for majority despotism over minorities, and where would the South be nationally by that rule? Then again

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witch-hunting after World War I was against the foreign-born, whereas today elements of the foreign born and new ethnic groups are the chief witch-hunters. Here again McCarthyism has little appeal in the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant South. Then the South has an artistocratic tradition; its bourbons do not like cannaille like McCarthy. And there is something deeper—laugh at the Southern Byrds and Georges if you will, they are nevertheless conservatives in the old-fashioned, honorable tradition. They know what they are trying to conserve here, and McCarthyism is not included.

The gallant fight to block the offshore oil give-away in the Senate has at least achieved the object of fixing the matter in the back of the heedless voter's mind. Maybe it will form a pattern in time to come. Now comes the time to give away publicly formed synthetic rubber and oil plants, consumer protection at the Bureau of Standards and other agencies, mineral rights under federal lands, and public power plants and transmission facilities.

**It has long been** rumored that the price Sen. Pat McCarran exacted for confirmation of ex-Attorney General McGranery was prosecution of Owen Lattimore, upon whose guilt McCarthy said he would "stand or fall." The seven perjury counts subsequently brought included some of the most nebulous and flimsy ever offered by the Justice Department, and Judge Luther Youngdahl, former Minnesota Governor, has now kicked four of them out. He demands particulars on the other three which he says "are so indefinite" as to require further information. Youngdahl's act does not decide the Lattimore case. This column does not even argue that Lattimore was wise or right in his views on China. But until now many have believed Lattimore would not get a fair trial and that, in fact, a legal lynching was underway. It was in some respects the most frightening thing in the whole story of McCarthyism. The press knew it but wouldn't comment. Now all that is changed. To proceed here McCarthy must first cow the judiciary—and the Youngdahls are hard to cow.

*Washington* T. R. B.

## LETTERS

*(Continued from page 2)*

haps you should warn your readers against contracting trichinosis from eating improperly inspected pork.

The scandal in the Bureau of Standards may already have had an effect in retail stores. A grocery clerk said that in the past 30 days there had been more complaints about short weight and inferior quality in packaged goods than in all the other 30 years of his experience. . . .
*Groton, N. Y.* MRS. GEORGE S. BROOKS

### What Kind of *NR*?

● I regret that in the letter that I wrote you several weeks ago I did not make clear that I consider the *New Republic* a most valuable magazine. The issue containing the official Senate report of its investigation of the financial affairs of Senator McCarthy was a great public service. The "Washington Wire" is always well worth reading. You have often published important facts available in no other magazine. Your attitude on domestic and foreign issues is courageous, clear-sighted, unbiased.

It is precisely because the *New Republic* could have a far greater influence than it now has, over many more people that I suggested changes in the way the articles are written: a lighter touch, a lively style, the use of short words and short sentences.

In a letter I received from Professor Karl Gehrkens he wrote, "Of course many people don't want to think—it makes them uncomfortable." He wrote, "I regard the *NR* as a sort of educational magazine, and because many people don't want to be educated, I believe that the *NR* will always have a small circulation."

I wonder if that is true. There must be many thousands of Americans who are not intellectual, who are not well-educated but who nevertheless are keenly interested in what is happening in the swiftly changing world.

After all, over 27 million voted for Adlai Stevenson. Among them there must have been a good many who were thinking seriously of present-day issues. Isn't it worth-while to try to reach those people? Stevenson thought so.
*New York, N. Y.* EVELYN SCHLOSS

### Wayne Morse

● I shall be glad to contribute something to Stevenson's support. He is a great leader. But Wayne Morse is a great man, too. Do you think the Democrats are worth any assistance when they let down a man who sacrificed his political career to uphold the principles to which they give lip service?
*N. San Juan, Calif.* ALICE FARNSWORTH

## Bandwagon

The 50-year-old Minister of Foreign Trade, Ugo La Malfa, who was struck in the face by 63-year-old Sen. Emilio Lussu [at a session of the Italian Senate] challenged the latter to a duel. Signor Lussu refused to fight, informing Signor La Malfa's seconds: "The blow I struck La Malfa had no personal character but was performed against the only representative of the government who was within my reach."—*From the New York* Times.

* * *

Ben Duffy [head of one of the world's largest advertising agencies, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne] . . . *recounted* the role advertising played in electing General Eisenhower President. . . .

"We made a market analysis of the General's chances the same as we would do in introducing a new product on a nationwide basis. We then put our effort in these areas where individual Democratic votes could be shifted. . . .

"In the General, we had a good product," Duffy said. "He has a wonderful mind of his own."—*From the Akron* Beacon Journal.

* * *

The Army isn't going to be taken by surprise in the investigation of ammunition shortages. Not if it can help it. . . .

Future Army witnesses are going to "school" at the Pentagon. Statements for the Senate subcommittee are prepared and read at what amounts to a mock hearing. Top-ranking generals sit around asking the most embarrassing questions they can think of.—*From the Washington* Star.

**Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.**

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New Republic

# THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR ATOMIC POWER

WHO WILL CONTROL atomic energy? Seven years ago the first struggle was waged between military and civil authority, and civil authority won. This year debate is coming on the relative roles of government and private enterprise. Amendments are already written to the Atomic Energy Act that will encourage research and development by private concerns. Responsible men in government and industry favor these amendments. At the same time they fear that the extravagant claims of interested companies and the current urge to take government out of all competition with private business may lead Congress to relinquish control of atomic energy far beyond the limits set by sound progress and national safety.

In 1946, conservative and liberal members of the Senate Committee that drew up the Atomic Energy Act joined in asserting:

> The Committee has been convinced that an absolute government monopoly of production of fissionable material is indispensable to effective domestic control of atomic energy. . . . To prevent decontrol or decentralization of this activity and weaken continuing government supervision would be contrary to the principle of prudent stewardship demanded of the government by considerations of national defense and national welfare.

Seven years later the President of the Utah Power and Light Company claims that the law was written by Socialists and that the election of President Eisenhower was a mandate for "commercial development in the atomic energy field." Dr. Charles Allen Thomas, President of the Monsanto Chemical Company, all but assures the housewives who read *Parade* that atomic energy, once it is placed in private hands, will be cooking meals and sweeping floors for them in no time at all. And under the slogan *Americanize the Atom!* (as if action by representative government were un-American!), David Lilienthal promises in *Collier's* that when "the first breath of the tonic air of competition" blows through the atomic industry "the industrial atoms" will "really start to roll." The reason, according to Mr. Lilienthal, is "not wholly because of the pressure of costs and the desire for profits. The fun would be back in this particular venture."

Who will pay for the fun? So far the American people have paid for every penny, to the extent of a $12 billion stake in atomic developments. And, under Monsanto's proposals, though the profits will be drained off, the taxpayers will continue to pay the costs and bear the risks.

Those who insist on radical change are quick to criticize the government for lethargy. And yet the record of government is not open to sober criticism. Progress, in fact, has been incredibly swift. And part of the progress has been because government and industry have worked in partnership. Government monopoly in atomic energy is not the dank Socialism that utility leaders and Lilienthal recoil from so appalled! General Electric operates the reactor complex at Hanford; Union Carbon and Carbide, the Oak Ridge Plant and Laboratory; Monsanto, the Mound Laboratory at Dayton; Sandia, a subsidiary of Bell Telephone, the Weapons Development Laboratory at Albuquerque. Dupont is building and will operate the reactor plant at Savannah River; Goodyear, the U235 plant at Portsmouth, Ohio. Bendix, Dow Chemical and scores of other companies have been brought into manufacturing plants in the weapons chain. And the companies with the longest operating experience are precisely those who warn against the premature transfer of atomic energy development to private hands.

**The case for private** development of atomic energy centers in electric power. It is a very long-range case at best. There is no shortage of electric generating capacity today or in the foreseeable future, according to the utility industry. However, atomic energy plants do consume 2.5 percent of our national supply of electricity and waste the heat that might provide steam power in return. Of our four primary sources of power—falling water, oil, natural gas and coal—the first is largely developed, the second and third are limited and too valuable to squander, the fourth is plentiful but seems certain to increase in cost as high-grade coal mines are exhausted.

There is a sound case, in the national interest, to use the reactors built for defense to generate power. But who will use them? "We cannot," said Commissioner Henry Smyth, "split the atomic energy industry in two parts labeling one for military purposes and keeping it under government control, and labeling the other for civilian purposes and releasing it to private industry." Technical factors and accounting procedures alone make this impossible. Government ownership of dual purpose

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reactors for weapons and electric power would be logical but alien to present prejudices, and, in any event, the government power generated in these reactors would be fed into private transmission lines. The long-range alternative that Dr. Thomas and his associates seem to favor is that private industry should take over altogether the atomic acorn before it grows into an oak.

Unfortunately, as Philip Sporn, president of the American Gas and Electric Company, declared recently:

> It is simply not possible in the present state of technology to design and construct nuclear reactors that would produce a unit of electric energy for commercial purposes at anywhere near the same cost as conventional fuels.

Competitive power must sell for around five mills a kilowatt hour, and, as Lawrence Hafstad of the AEC remarked, atomic power today would cost "a megabuck per megawatt."

**Monsanto officials,** always optimistic, maintain that some miracle will happen because "the profit incentive alone gives the competitive system a definite edge over governmental operation of business no matter how efficient the latter may be." But this argument, it turns out, is a plea that Monsanto should produce the plutonium for our atomic bombs. It is the plutonium and not the power that excites Monsanto imaginations. Under the Monsanto plan, and similar proposals, the government will provide a guaranteed market for privately produced plutonium at a guaranteed price, for a guaranteed number of years.

This proposal, to do it justice, is intended to exploit the temporary bonanza of atomic bombs rather than establish a permanent subsidy. It remains unsound, for it rests on the government's demand for plutonium, and the government's capacity, which newly built plants will double, is already adequate. Gordon Dean, Chairman of the AEC, has made the remarkable statement that the government will possess all the plutonium it needs in the "not unforeseeable future." In the face of this prospect, and the record of steadily lowering costs per unit which the AEC and its contractors have made, it would be utterly irresponsible for the government to agree now to buy fixed amounts of plutonium at fixed prices from private manufacturers for the next 15 or 20 years. Harry Winne, Vice-President of General Electric, confirms this conclusion concerning private plants:

> Such plants could live economically only so long as the government guarantees the market and price for plutonium. . . . This situation does not constitute a sound basis for an atomic-electric power industry.

Atomic power is still in the pilot-plant stage of development. The estimated cost of a pilot plant for power is $20 million, and none has yet been built. Many proposals will no doubt be submitted to Congress this summer to permit private concerns to build these pilot projects, but all of them will contain provisions, open or concealed, for government subsidies or financing. For no private manufacturer can commit $20 million to a blind venture. As the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy notes in its December report:

> Until a series of demonstrations of utilization of power are a reality, there is a natural tendency for each interested private group to assume only enough of the developmental responsibility to insure a role in any subsequent profitable applications.

Through joint financing with the AEC four teams of private companies have developed proposals for atomic energy projects. Of these, only one, prepared by Dow Chemical - Detroit Edison, conceives of a project not dependent upon government financing or the manufacture of plutonium for weapons under government guarantees. The Dow-Detroit project foresees a development financed by more than 20 companies which will produce power and sell the plutonium manufactured as a by-product for use in aircraft, surface vessels and research. The spirit of this project alone is new, responsible and praiseworthy. And if it requires modest amendments in the Atomic Energy Act to permit private ownership of reactors and private production of plutonium, then enlightened members of Congress may feel that the risks are justified. They remain substantial risks. For in the opinion of leading businessmen and scientists, the commercial applications of atomic energy are 15 to 30 years away. It took 20 years to carry television from the first demonstration to the first commercial set, and atomic energy compares to television as a diesel locomotive to a clockwork toy.

**We see no cause** for discouraging enterprise where it desires to bear risks. But we fear a dozen repetitions of the Lustron story. If the Atomic Energy Act is amended to encourage premature private investment, we foresee the day, a few years hence, when, through administrative interpretation or further amendment to the Act, government subsidies will be demanded and provided to save failing concerns from bankruptcy.

A wiser course seems to us to be for government to bear the burdens of pioneering and to build the first pilot plant for atomic power. Then, and only then, the proper questions can be asked, which later on will lead to knowledge that private industry can exploit. It is far wiser to pioneer along these lines than to rip the Atomic Energy Act apart in the name of "fun."

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# THE WEEK

## BUDGET CUTS OR JUGGLING

President Eisenhower says he will cut Harry Truman's proposed budget of $78.5 billion for fiscal 1954 by $8.5 billion—a little more than 10 percent. While Eisenhower did not specify, Sen. Robert A. Taft stated that $5 billion will come out of the defense program, for which Truman had allotted $45 billion, and $1.8 billion from the $7.8 billion Truman requested for foreign aid, the balance from the budgets of various agencies and departments.

These figures are meaningless except as indications of policy decisions. The Truman budget was undoubtedly compiled with an eye to anticipated Congressional cutting, so the comparison becomes deceptive. More, we cannot yet know what percentage of the proposed $5 billion defense cut reflects the planned transfer to private firms of research and development work heretofore done by government agencies, and representing no saving in the long run.

What the figures, taken together with Eisenhower's plans to "stretch-out" the defense effort, do indicate is seeming acceptance by the Administration of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's ideas on narrowing the nation's "mobilization base." Aside from the merits of Wilson's theory is the fact that its application would result in less contracts for the small manufacturer and more for the big. And if the new budget reflects "savings" to be gained in that fashion, it will run into opposition from the very many Congressmen who are committed to protecting small business.

The proposed cut in foreign aid is to the amount of 23 percent, or nearly one-fourth. A cut of this magnitude, coming at a time when Europe as a whole has been forced to believe that the prospects of freer trade are non-existent, and at a time when Russia and the satellites are bidding to buy just those goods on which we have imposed the highest tariffs or the strictest quotas, will place a tremendous strain upon the already loosening ties of Western unity. East-West trade will become a more and more attractive means of saving precious dollars if American aid is allowed to drop beyond the level where conformity to the Battle Act is advantageous. Already, responsible sources in Europe are asking for drastic revisions in the law's definition of "secondary strategic items" which should not be exported to the East.

The most meaningful part of the President's statement is the proposed revision of the National Security Act in order to place more responsibility and power in civilian hands. The proposed increase in the number of Assistant Secretaries of Defense and in the power of the service secretaries, as well as the decreas in the administrative work load of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reflect the President's first-hand knowledge of organization problems in the armed services and his determination to make unification a working reality.

## McCARTHY'S WEEK

Joseph McCarthy has opened a two-pronged attack on the press. First, he has "offered" a regular McCarthy column to "several hundred weeklies"; those which do not welcome the column can expect to be asked why when the second prong has done its job. Second, having established the precedent that all those whose writings appear in US Information Centers overseas are proper subjects for investigation, McCarthy chose from among them the editor of an anti-McCarthy newspaper—he summoned James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*, for questioning.

Twenty years ago James Wechsler joined the Young Communist League. He perceived the threat of Communism and, in the words of the Washington *Post*, "he has been an effective opponent of Communism, Fascism, McCarthyism and all other forms of totalitarianism ever since." McCarthy, who once tried to frighten advertisers away from *Time* magazine because it had criticized him, is obviously determined to hound every man and publication which considers him a threat to and not the guardian of our liberties. Wechsler, whose past is easy to distort to the misinformed, seems a perfect target for a campaign of intimidation. And Wechsler claims that publication of the transcript of the questioning will show that intimidation was indeed McCarthy's purpose. McCarthy has finally been forced to promise he will make that transcript public.

The danger in all this is not that Wechsler or the New York *Post* will be intimidated; but that an already largely intimidated press will emulate radio and television and cower still further. Witness the recent case of Bucklin Moon, associate fiction editor of *Collier's* magazine. Moon was discharged on the basis of a few letters charging him with Communist-front connections, not because the charges were true or could not be disproven, but because, as editor Roger Daskin said, the mere fact of such charges having been made would be bad for the magazine.

With the press showing such signs of hysteria, McCarthy made a new move in his Western-trade-with-Red-China gambit, charging that a number of French and English flagships were partially owned by Chinese Communists. When McCarthy originally stepped into this area of foreign affairs to claim credit for work already done by the State Department, his immediate interest was to divert attention from his set-back in the Senate confirmation of Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia. At that time McCarthy had called John Foster Dulles a liar when the latter said he had not overruled McCarthy's man in the State Department's security branch, Robert W. Scott McLeod, in recommending Bohlen as a good security risk. On April 30, McLeod admitted to a House Government Operations subcommittee that Dulles could not have overridden him since their responsibilities did not overlap. When the issue was alive, McLeod had

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nothing to say; now when it is too late for the truth to catch up with the lie, he speaks. The press made little effort to set the record straight on this point, but it did give front-page treatment to McCarthy's statement on French and English flagships.

## NO UNNECESSARY SURGERY?

Dr. Paul R. Hawley recently charged that the amount of needless surgery going on is shocking, and that it is done for one thing—money. The practice of fee-splitting and ghost surgery among certain members of the medical profession is equally unethical, he said.

Dr. Hawley, a former Veterans Administrator, is executive director of the American College of Surgeons. However, righteous medics denied accusations. The American Academy of General Practice, meeting in St Louis, demanded that the American Medical Association discipline Dr. Hawley, because his charges were "misstatements and distortions of facts," and intended to "promote and elevate the College of Surgeons." This proved impossible because Dr. Hawley is not an AMA member. He joined while in the army, was exempt from paying dues, paid no dues after returning to civilian life, and so was dropped from the AMA rolls.

Since Dr. Hawley's charges had been made in the form of a copyrighted interview in *US News & World Report*, that magazine invited Dr. R. B. Robbins to reply. A former AMA vice-president, Dr. Robbins heads the Academy of General Practice which is now five years old. It has 16,000 members, and although Dr. Robbins himself puts the total number of general practitioners at 100,000, he said he spoke for the entire profession.

Robbins countered that after all, "medicine is an inexact science," that the practice of unnecessary surgery is decreasing, and that hospital standards are such today that "tissue examinations are made on organs removed." Such examinations show, of course, whether the tissues removed are healthy; that is, whether their removal was or was not necessary.

Dr. Robbins is absolutely right—as far as he goes. Such examinations are true of the standards of the American College of Surgeons. But how far are these standards enforced elsewhere? Doctors themselves admit that outside of the teaching hospitals associated with medical schools, and perhaps half of the other non-profit hospitals, there are no "tissue committees." But there are about 1,000 proprietary hospitals in this country, privately owned by one or two doctors. How many of these, if any, are inspected by the American College of Surgeons?

Is there too much unnecessary surgery? The *AMA Journal* itself gave evidence on that score in a report on a large hospital in an Ohio city. The lay board of trustees and the leaders of the medical staff became alarmed at the large amount of surgery, and set up a "tissue committee." The *AMA Journal* ran a report three years after the committee got going. The percentage of "normal tissue removed" had dropped substantially. The drop was not general, and confined to just some of the surgeons. But in those cases the number of operations had dropped 33 to 50 percent!

Was Dr. Hawley wrong? The regents of the College of Surgeons have just issued a statement declaring that "a small minority of the medical profession chooses to circumvent its moral and ethical responsibilities. This group desires to keep the knowledge of unethical practices from the public and to silence all doctors of good will who decry conduct which is prejudicial to the best core of the sick."

Dr. Hawley had also condemned fee splitting and ghost surgery, where the patient does not know, and does not even see, the operating surgeon, who steps in after the patient is under the anesthetic.

Dr. Robbins said he had been all over the country and had not seen one case of ghost surgery. Which can be entirely true and still no rebuttal. Dr. Robbins may have visited every hospital in which his 16,000 members practice. He may have talked with every one of them. But what of the other 84,000 general practitioners who are not members of the Dr. Robbins group? And how many of the 1,000 private hospitals has Dr. Robbins canvassed?

Fee splitting? It's still a serious problem, and the practice is "vicious," says Dr. Robbins—because the patient does not know where his money is going. His remedy? Patients should demand itemized billing. Dr. Robbins sees nothing wrong as long as the patient knows who is getting how much.

Are there enough doctors? Well, what you want is quality, not quantity. There never has really been a doctor shortage, merely maldistribution, according to Dr. Robbins. But the facts are otherwise. In 1909 there were 149 doctors per 100,000 population; in 1951 there were only 134. The advisory board of the National Security Resources Board reported in 1951 that the nation will be short 22,000 doctors by 1954.

### Maude Gonne 1865-1953

*No Second Troy*

Why should I blame her that she filled my days
With misery, or that she would of late
Have taught to ignorant men most violent ways,
Or hurled the little streets upon the great,
Had they but courage equal to desire?
What could have made her peaceful with a mind
That nobleness made simple as a fire,
With beauty like a tightened bow, a kind
That is not natural in an age like this,
Being high and solitary and most stern?
Why, what could she have done, being what she is?
Was there another Troy for her to burn?

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

(From *The Green Helmet and Other Poems*, 1910)

Maude Gonne, Ireland's Joan of Arc, chose the man of action, not the poet. She married John MacBride, he gave her his name, and she turned away William Butler Yeats—he named her Helen and gave her the quality of myth. The woman died last week; the name MacBride has long been dead; the myth of Maude will live as long as men read Irish poetry.

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# DULLES' SPEECH — DRY ROT ON HOPE

EUROPE's confidence in General Eisenhower's skill and good will in the role of supreme peace commander of the West would be greater if Secretary Dulles showed more talent in handling difficult diplomatic negotiations with the East.

After his first visit on behalf of the President, the Secretary left European public opinion angered by his professed presumption to be the dictator of the best interests of the European peoples. He prefaced his second visit with a monumentally immodest as well as tactless claim to have been the savior of those best interests. And by the time he had finished telling NATO what was good for it, at times in a manner more appropriate to a prosecuting attorney, many Europeans were trying once more to figure out just what the real relations are between Eisenhower, in whom they have much confidence, and Dulles in whom they have very little.

**Eisenhower's big speech** before the newspaper editors was hailed in Europe as presenting authentic US policy, and it seemed to go—in spirit at least—halfway forward to meet Georgi Malenkov at the crossroads of history. But it was the President himself who chose Dulles as the lead-off man in a lineup of official orators, assigned (Europeans thought) to support and spell out this policy. The Secretary's speech, however, went more than halfway back to appease the US die-hard reactionaries of whom McCarthy has become in Europe the leading symbol, if not the representative.

The *Monde* of Paris commented bitterly on the US system of the "Scotch douche"—cold showers after warmth. It said that the President's "conciliatory words and generosity of tone" had been followed by "a harangue in which intransigence competed with mock innocence," adding that "European opinion, which has an excusable tendency to believe that there are not several kinds of truth" feared that the system would be "giving the Kremlin the propaganda arguments which it now needs urgently." The *Times* of London found the Secretary's remarks "strangely hard to reconcile with the spirit of the President's speech."

Whereas Eisenhower had been firm and careful, Dulles was tough and tactless. For example, he made the liberation of Eastern Europe a prior condition for negotiations. From the Western European point of view, this—and other pre-conditions listed by the Secretary—may rule out the possibility of any negotiations at all. And there is the suspicion that this may well have been his aim—but is it also Eisenhower's?

The notion of a preliminary settlement based upon the Eastern European status quo as an "illusion of peace" is considered over here to be putting the cart before the horse. Edgar Faure, a former Premier of France, warns:

> Let us not play with the meaning of words when the fate of peoples is at stake. In the immediate future, liberation can only mean the guarantee of free relations between the countries of Eastern Europe and other countries. It cannot now mean the overthrow of governments put into power by the constraint or with the support of the Soviets.

Another example was the claim of Dulles to personal credit for having saved the European Defense Community. "It seemed," he said, "that the project was dying." But "as a result" of his visit to Europe "that project has now been revived."

The fact is that the Secretary's claim strengthens the position of those opponents of ratification, especially by the French National Assembly, who, like the *Monde*, believe that "only American pressure gives some chance to this dangerous and premature project." The liveliest single topic in Europe is the Eisenhower response to Malenkov, and the chance it offers ultimately of an all-German settlement within a whole-Europe *modus vivendi*. The EDC in its present form may or may not play a part. But Dulles, by insisting on having raised it from moribundity to life, has probably widened the split between the French Government and a large part of the membership—quite possibly a majority—of the Assembly.

The division on the EDC is now worse than the one between the White House and Capitol Hill during President Roosevelt's struggle with a hostile Congress. And it has been brought to this state since (and, in a measure, directly because of) the Secretary's efforts to improve it. Before his interventions, the opposition to the EDC in the French parliament was confined largely to the extremists on the Left and Right. Now it ranges from the ultra-nationalists and crypto-Fascists on the far Right to the fellow-travelers and Communists on the far Left. The division in French public opinion also cuts across and through party lines.

**The central issue in this** bitter quarrel is no longer primarily German rearmament. Nor is it even the dread (fostered by the tough talk of men like Dulles) of a loss of French national independence in a German-dominated made-in-America Europe. It is about America's future evolution, a fear that Eisenhower, though perhaps with the best democratic and peace-loving intentions in the world, may be unable to control those currents in US public opinion on which McCarthy is counting to put him in the White House.

Europeans are ready—a large number of them, reluctantly—to believe that Eisenhower may not dare challenge McCarthy and hence put a stop to the development of a US version of neo-Fascism. Perhaps it is too early for that, perhaps the President is looking for the right terrain of combat, perhaps he cannot yet afford to alienate sections of the GOP party and GOP opinion.

But Dulles speaks to the world, and if he uses a different language than Eisenhower's in stating US policy, Europe cannot know which is authentically America's voice

*Paris* FRANK GORRELL

EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE Johnson City, Tennessee
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# PLAYWRIGHT ON THE STAGE

**by Donald C. Downes**

WELL, SHE is come. Come to the amusement of the Italians, the usual boredom of the Romans, and the somewhat embarrassed and forced enthusiasm of the Americans domiciled in Italy. Only the powers which run the Vatican are upset and annoyed.

Like all good proconsuls Mrs. Clare Booth Luce was preceded by an adviser who prepared the ground for her. More than two weeks ago, Bishop Fulton Sheen came to Rome, and in the classical tradition of the great ambition of distant clerics preached to the Romans. His thesis was that the Great Eternal City should suppress the Communist Party. Romans, better informed on history, remembered the disastrous results of the suppression of a still large party in the period of their history between Nero and Constantine the Great. They were not impressed.

Then on April 22, Mrs. Luce herself arrived on the new Italian liner *Andrea Doria.* She was pretty, young-looking and chicly dressed (some Italian ladies thought, *un pochino troppo 'ollywood*).

**Naples' waterfront crowd** turned out to greet her, as did the Southern NATO admirals and generals, and a big delegation from the American Embassy in Rome. The Italian and American press were there in force. Italians noted, however, that the first person aboard was Achille Lauro, Naples' Fascist-Monarchist mayor. Lauro Fascism's biggest owner of merchant ships, and a man of vast wealth today, thanks to American sponsorship, is the spearhead of the new political alliance between the growing forces of the Fascist Party and the House of Savoy.

Mrs. Luce spoke to the Italian press in astonishingly good Italian for a new student of the language. She identified herself, as a woman, with the traditional fat Italian *mama* who lavishes kisses and spaghetti on her beloved children. (A bit of exceedingly bad casting for a successful playwright.)

The new US Ambassador in Rome faces a difficult task. Our past Embassy policy has not won friends among the people. It asked no political price for our billions in aid. And so, during years of ECA, the rich became richer; housing for the poor lagged far behind luxury building; unemployment remained at around 2.5 million; the school system failed to provide free instruction beyond the fifth grade; and land reform lagged.

*Donald C. Downes, currently living in Italy, is a frequent contributor to American magazines.*

These are burning issues in the June elections in which the forces of the Communists will exploit our errors and our temporizing with Italian reaction to the full. Normally the Communist Party wins one-third of all Italian ballots. If it and the Fascist Right of the MSI and the Monarchists led by Achille Lauro together poll half the votes, Italy may have a government based on a Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement between Togliatti and Lauro. These two have already in common a jingoist hatred of our Trieste policy and of Tito's Yugoslavia. Such a government would mean the end of Italy in the NATO pact and would inevitably lead to a Communist coup. Every word and every deed of our Embassy and our new Ambassador will count in this election, for, after all, we Americans are the biggest issue. Italian eyes, especially Communist eyes, are on Mrs. Luce watching for her first major error.

That error could lie in the field of her status as a Catholic convert, or in her promised political statement to the press after she has presented her credentials to President Einaudi. The intervention of Bishop Sheen and the reception by Mayor Lauro are not good beginnings. If Mrs. Luce wants an excellent advisor on how to conduct herself in these two months, she should turn to Admiral Robert B. Carney in Naples who has handled a difficult situation, the maintenance of an American base on Italian soil, with such dignity and tact that the Communists and Fascists who howled loudest against his coming rarely mention him or his command any more. A large part of the secret of his success is that he keeps his mouth shut and punishes severely misconduct by the thousands of naval personnel ashore under his command.

**The Vatican is uneasy** at having a Catholic convert as Ambassador. In general it regards converts as too puritanical and too blindly literal. Oddly enough, a joke which the Left told to hurt Mrs. Luce has helped her. She is supposed, in the tale, to have requested a private audience with the Pope. When she did not reappear in the usual 15 or 20 minutes the Papal Chamberlains became nervous. After an hour one old Chamberlain dared open the door a crack and listen. He heard the soft, old voice of Pius protesting:

"But, my dear Mrs. Ambassador, aren't you forgetting that I am already a Catholic?"

Mrs. Luce has perhaps the greatest responsibility of any American Ambassador abroad today. Her sex and her religious status will keep her on continuous trial. If her actions are simple and democratic, she can do Italy and America a great service.

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# AD-X2—HOW THE SENATE WAS HOAXED

**by Scientist Q**

ONE OF THE strange aspects of the Astin case and the recent attacks on the National Bureau of Standards has been the role of two scientists and their universities: Dr. K. J. Laidler of Catholic University and Professor H. C. Weber of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The attempts of the promoter of AD-X2 to discredit the Bureau or to coerce it into endorsement of his product began in 1948. A focal point in this campaign turned out to be the press release issued December 18, 1952, by the Senate Small Business Committee. This 16-page release consisted of quotations of conclusions from the M.I.T. tests on AD-X2, performed by H. C. Weber, and extensive interpretations by K. J. Laidler.

In spite of the promoter's extensive lobbying efforts, which involved at least 28 Senators, it is almost inconceivable that the Senate Small Business Committee would have taken a serious interest in AD-X2 had not M.I.T. and Catholic University become, in effect, proponents of the product. There is little evidence that the Committee itself knew what it was doing, in any case, for the burden of its investigation was carried by a staff employee, Blake O'Connor. Both Laidler and Weber served, either in fact or in effect, as advisors to the Committee. They were both brought to the National Bureau of Standards and to the Committee by Mr. O'Connor and/or the promoter.

**In view of the technical** backgrounds and affiliations of these consultants, it is not surprising that the Senate Small Business Committee and Secretary of Commerce Weeks were impressed. Certainly O'Connor and Weeks were susceptible to the persuasive arguments of the promoter, and the distinguished institutional backing presented in the form of Weber and Laidler must have eradicated any doubts. Unlike Weeks, O'Connor should have been readily able to adopt a more skeptical position, for he knew that both of these consultants had been injected into the picture by the promoter himself. In short, the Senate Committee, through what at best was O'Connor's naïveté, while assuming that it had two neutral consultants, really had two of the promoter's adherents. All of the elements in the involved relations between the promoter, O'Connor, Weber and Laidler are not yet clear, but even that information which is now public constitutes one of the incredible annals in science.

At least superficially, Laidler's role in the drama is simpler to follow. The Senate Committee press release of December 18, 1952, clearly describes him as consultant to the Committee. One of his services to the Committee was the preparation of comments on the M.I.T. report, as abstracted in the Committee release, and of a lengthy appendix on AD-X2. Later, after the National Bureau of Standards had issued its report to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the M.I.T. work (February 10, 1953), Laidler prepared a 12-page rebuttal for the Senate Committee.

**In neither instance** did Laidler provide any original technical data pertinent to the merits of AD-X2. In both, he provided interpretations and comments of a highly argumentative and rhetorical nature. A fair description was supplied by a Washington *Post* reporter, who said that even as a layman he could appreciate the non-scientific nature of Laidler's comments. On the technical front, by way of illustration, the following comment on the Bureau's February 10 statement is of interest: "The NBS now admit that they can confirm some of the effects found at M.I.T., and there would therefore appear to be no reason for them to continue to refuse to believe the other evidence." Yet M.I.T. itself has hedged on the relevance of its own work to the fundamental issue—*i.e.*, whether AD-X2 has a beneficial effect on normal battery operation—and the confirmation of some of their effects by the NBS, discussed below, is actually irrelevant in terms of the issue.

In the course of his comments, Laidler not only attacks the Bureau but all other agencies, including the military services, which had tested AD-X2 and found it useless. His position is one of complete support of the product, and his reaction to the M.I.T. test is to exploit it in every way to support the promoter.

Throughout this period, Laidler had appeared as the objective, neutral consultant of the Senate Small Business Committee. The chemistry staff of Catholic University knew, however, that his participation was not as disinterested as it seemed. Even during the summer of 1952, there was talk on the campus that Laidler was being paid by the promoter. One story had it that Laidler had subsequently returned these fees in order to act for the Committee as their neutral consultant.

Had this happened, however, Laidler's objectivity still would have been a legitimate matter of question, for his espousal of AD-X2 had, prior to this connection with the Committee, been total and vociferous. On April 17, 1953, the Washington *Post* revealed that as early as May 15, Laidler had written a 9-page report for the promoter. It was a signed, "glowing indorsement of AD-X2's efficacy in prolonging the life of a storage battery" and

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"denounces tests made by the Bureau of Standards. . . ." The document was copyrighted and distributed by the promoter.

The *Post* also revealed that Laidler's colleagues at Catholic University "dissociated themselves from the eighth colleague's warm indorsement of . . . AD-X2." One of the reasons for this stand, was the use made of the University's name by the Senate Committee. A statement (signed by Professors F. O. Rice, G. W. Castellan, J. S. Dooling, B. F. Enagonio, V. Griffing, J. T. Vanderslice and H. P. Ward) was issued to the *Post* by the chemistry department of Catholic University:

> Because of the recent publicity given to the subject of battery additives in which phrases have appeared such as "scientists on the staffs of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Catholic University" and "tests by Catholic University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology scientists," it seems advisable to clarify the position of the undersigned members of the chemistry department of the Catholic University of America on this subject.
>
> At no time were experiments conducted here or elsewhere under the sponsorship of the chemistry department.
>
> Any consultation on battery additives undertaken by an individual member of the chemistry department was performed as a private project and without the benefit of the advice or approval of the department. In short, we have had nothing to do with the subject of battery additives and repudiate the implication that we indorse any of them.
>
> It is not our intention to enter into the controversy concerning the merits of battery additives in general or of AD-X2 in particular, but rather to affirm our faith and confidence in the scientific method as the only safe way of arriving at the truth in this matter.

**A few days later,** the Washington *Daily News* completely cleared up the status of Laidler as a neutral consultant for the Senate Committee—oddly enough the source of the information was the promoter himself:

> Dr. Laidler, who is now in England, was believed at one time to have returned all of his pay from Mr. Ritchie when he began working for the Small Business Committee.
>
> Mr. Ritchie explained that Dr. Laidler attempted to return the money, but that his check was refused. Mr. Ritchie said Dr. Laidler was still working for him at $100 a month as a consultant and writer.

The M.I.T. role in the ouster of Dr. Astin and the attacks on the integrity and competence of the National Bureau of Standards may well have been far more decisive than Laidler's, even though on the surface the culpability of M.I.T. or its staff is not evident. The reason for attributing such importance to the role of M.I.T. is simply that in matters technical, M.I.T. has developed perhaps the most overpowering institutional reputation. To appraise the effects of their tests, it is worth noting several aspects of the M.I.T. report on AD-X2.

From a technical point of view, even if every word in the report were true, the M.I.T. tests are essentially irrelevant. The claims for AD-X2 have been claims concerned with normal battery operation. One takes the powder—which costs some one-half cent per packet and sells for $3—and puts it into each cell of a battery. M.I.T. took normal batteries and removed the normal acid solution content, replacing it with dilute acid solutions which would not serve, say, to start a car. That the results of their tests were not generally applicable was admitted in a statement cautioning against extending the test results to normal conditions.

**However, even as a test** under non-normal—and in terms of the issue therefore meaningless—conditions, the report leaves much to be desired from a scientific point of view. The writer has discussed the report with a score of leading chemists and mathematical statisticians: not a one who examined the report could conceal his shock at this aspect of the study. In particular, the statisticians cite the faulty design of experiment. For example, in an apparent effort to be more than fair to the "untreated" cells, the use of AD-X2 was reserved for cells which were more "worn out." Batteries, however, have a recovery of their own and tend to even up when left alone for a while, and consequently inferior batteries will recover more than the better ones. In effect, then, the attempt to be more than fair, resulted in a bias in favor of AD-X2.

One of the secondary arguments presented by M.I.T. in favor of AD-X2 was the dissolving of sediment. In operation, a battery sheds materials from the plates. This shedding represents a wearing out of the plates and also constitutes a shorting hazard if enough sediment accumulates at the bottom of the battery. As an example of failure to conduct a quantitative scientific study of this topic, the section discussing sedimentation is likely to become a classic that even the layman can appreciate. Crude, visual observations, several months apart on a couple of glass-enclosed batteries, with movement of the batteries in the interim, about sum up the data. Efforts to measure the solubility of sedimentation in such a solution were not made. Again, later in the report, there is a section on the increased conductivity of the mixture: precise data are available on this topic indicating the exact opposite.

What of Weber's objectivity? M.I.T. was requested to make its test about August, 1952. Their report, dated December 1, was submitted to the Senate Committee on December 16, 1952, accompanied by a letter of transmittal by J. A. Stratton, vice-president and provost, addressed to O'Connor. In this letter, Stratton points out that the work "was undertaken by M.I.T. upon the request of your Committee," that "there are no recom-

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mendations included in the report, nor did our group arrive at any definitive conclusions with respect to the commercial value of the product," and that the "report sets forth the results of very careful laboratory tests, and these results have been corroborated and analyzed statistically."

Comments have already been made pertinent to the last quotation of Stratton's letter. Peculiar also, however, are his other quoted remarks in view of the persistent refusal for many months of M.I.T. to make a statement on its report and in view of their failure to attempt to prevent the use of M.I.T.'s name by the Senate Committee in its press release attacking the Bureau. Repeated press stories subsequent to this release, including statements made in recent weeks by members of the Senate and Weeks himself—using the M.I.T. report as support for the criticism of the National Bureau of Standards—evinced no response from M.I.T.

**Scientists in Cambridge** discovered from the M.I.T. public-relations office that no official comment could be obtained from M.I.T. Some were referred to an article in the *Christian Science Monitor,* which picked up Stratton's statements in his letter of transmittal and the qualifications alluded to above. To inquiries as to whether the *Monitor* article constituted the official M.I.T. position, the response was No. Finally, on April 18, the Washington *Evening Star* quoted M.I.T. President J. R. Killian as follows:

> Our report and that of the Bureau of Standards indicates a difference in judgment as to the conclusiveness of limited laboratory tests.
>
> It is not unusual for objective scientific tests to be subject to different interpretations or for differences of opinion to occur in good faith.
>
> At no point in the report is there any criticism of any previous tests on this product, for none was reviewed. The scientific integrity of the Bureau of Standards has never been questioned by M.I.T. . . .

While the above statement represents something of a retraction, its value is vitiated by M.I.T.'s failure to proffer it earlier. Moreover, in view of the nature of the report, it is difficult to see why M.I.T. could not be more forthright in its repudiation of the report and in its taking, even at that late date, a strong stand against the acts which had their technical justification, in the eyes of the Senate Committee and Weeks, in the M.I.T. report: it is not going too far to say that M.I.T., more than any other factor, constituted the basis for the ouster of Astin and the attack on the Bureau.

In addition, as in the Laidler affair, there are further disquieting elements in the M.I.T. study. The tests were made at the request of the Senate Committee. The request was issued about August, 1952. Yet the M.I.T. report refers to experimentation by Weber as early as January and May of 1952, there is at least one letter indicating Weber's interest in March, 1952, and Weber was introduced both to the National Bureau of Standards and the Senate Committee (*i.e.* O'Connor) by the promoter in the summer of 1952. Assuming that, unlike the Laidler situation, payment by the promoter to Weber is not involved, the crux of the matter here too is that Weber and M.I.T. have appeared to the Senate, to Weeks, to the press and to the public as disinterested, neutral examiners and advisors. The facts show that Weber was a proponent of AD-X2 long before his assistance was requested by the Committee and that the avenue of approach was through the promoter. Then, too, the delivery of the M.I.T. report, as Stratton's letter of transmittal to the Committee shows, was undertaken by the promoter's Boston distributor!

Here then we have a spectacle in which the National Bureau of Standards, for more than 50 years devoted to the serving of government agencies, the Congress and the public, is publicly discredited on the basis of the actions of two individuals, seemingly disinterested but one of them, at least, linked to the promoter. This is a matter that requires investigations by the Congress. It raises, also, the question of integrity of our educational institutions, and the question is one which is directly levelled at M.I.T. M.I.T. has had every opportunity to redeem its position. Much more involved than Catholic University, M.I.T has not had the courage of the former institution, and has stood majestically aloof while its name and specious report were used to oust Dr. Astin and to discredit the National Bureau of Standards.

### Needed: A Full Investigation

"Secretary Weeks has wisely yielded to general indignation over the dismissal of Dr. Astin," the Federation of American Scientists has declared. "It is important to realize, however, that nothing in Secretary Weeks' statement justifies or gives confidence in the wisdom of his unrecalled decision to insist on Dr. Astin's resignation. . . .

"We still believe that a full and independent investigation of the motives and circumstances surrounding the Astin dismissal itself must be made. With a National Academy of Scientists committee about to look into the technical aspects of the battery additive issue, the Senate Small Business Committee or the Commerce committees in either House should now address themselves to the dismissal itself and to the broader policy questions it raises."

*New Republic* readers who desire to express their sentiments on the Astin case to Congress should address communications to:

Chairman Edward J. Thye, (Minn.)
Select Committee on Small Business,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.
or Chairman Charles W. Tobey (N.H.)
Commerce Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

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# WILL FRANCE LOSE INDO-CHINA?

by Tom Fitzsimmons

THE INVASION of Laos by Viet-Minh forces proves, says the NATO Ministerial Council, that Soviet Russia is "still promoting aggressive war." During precisely the period when Georgi Malenkov was sponsoring peace feelers to General Eisenhower, Mao Tsé-tung was increasing three-fold his military aid to Ho Chi Minh—aid which included Russian-made supplies.

**One interpretation is that** the contradiction shows bad faith. Another is that it is one element of pressure in an elaborate political maneuver: As part of the price asked for an armistice in Korea will probably be US recognition of Mao, so part of the price asked for alleviation of the threat in Indo-China probably will be French concessions to Ho.

Yet the invasion of Laos would seem a cleaner case of unprovoked aggression if blame for its deeper causes could be put entirely on Ho and his backers in Peking and Moscow. Actually, Paris must accept much of the responsibility, not only because of what succeeding French governments have done but also of what they have not done since Britain granted independence to India, and Holland to Indonesia.

Long before the emancipation of India, the Charter of 1883 decreed that: "The interests of the native subjects are to be preferred to those of Europeans wherever the two come into contact." The French, even now, do not accept this principle. And they have failed to live up to their agreement to give Laos, Viet-Nam or Cambodia anything like real independence or sovereignty within the French Union. One of the serious causes of friction in Cambodia, for example, is French refusal to grant King Norodom Sihanouk's request for revision of the Pau agreement so that exemption of Frenchmen and other foreigners from Cambodian laws and from judgment by local courts be removed.

On the other hand, while the French insist that the Indo-China war is part of international resistance to Communist aggression and call for US help, they refuse to allow international treatment of the basic political problems involved. The invaders of Laos can therefore claim they are bringing rather than destroying freedom and independence. And *Pravda* can argue on behalf of Ho and his sponsor, Mao, that the preservation of Laotian sovereignty is in fact the salvation of French colonialism, saying that Eisenhower "sins against the well-known historical truth" when he tries "to impede the liberation movement of colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

There is no doubt that in Indo-China the French have made a mess, and US policy must clean it up. Ineptitude in handling military operations has been exceeded only by political and psychological stupidity. France has allowed small groups of unprincipled Frenchmen to use the claim of French national prestige and what Foreign Minister Bidault calls France's "world vocation" as a cover for corruptly obtained private profit; and they have allowed overweening nationalist pride to prevent awareness of weakness in a way that may seriously effect the security of the whole free world.

The story behind King Norodom Sihanouk's statement is typical. Cambodia, he said, is not independent and sovereign; its hands and feet are tied by the French. Cambodians do not "want to die for the French," he added, and there is a growing feeling that the Viet-Minh is really fighting for independence. The French Government tried to explain away both these remarks, but a declaration of the Cambodian Government supported the King.

**The responsibility is in Paris.** The King arrived there on March 5 and asked for a chance to discuss improvement of Franco-Cambodian relations. No one paid any attention to him. He had to ask twice to see President Vincent Auriol, head of the French Union. After the second request he was invited to lunch and given vague promises. He went to Fontainebleau and waited for a summons to discussion of practical matters, particularly of the effect on the Indo-Chinese of the intensified Viet-Minh "liberation" movement. Again no one paid any attention to him. Then, after a few weeks, a member of the Mayer cabinet, the Minister for the Associated States, sent word that "under the circumstances" it would be better if the King left French soil. He did, and spoke his piece in New York. Now, in his kingdom the traditionally hated French are hated more than ever. And, on April 29, a Cambodian spokesman in Paris said flatly that unless his country were granted an independent status such as Britain gave India it might withdraw from the French Union and join the Viet-Minh in revolt.

King Sisavang Vong of Laos, on the other hand, has done neither traveling nor talking. He intends to stay in his capital city, Luang Prabang, even if the Viet-Minh forces arrive, as he did when the Japanese came. Though his people have never been particularly friendly to the Viet-Namese, and many have assumed that the Laotian hillmen were too simple to be attracted by the Communist propaganda, one of the many surprises of the Laos

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campaign has been the sudden appearance of many Laotian irregulars.

Moscow and Peking do not believe any Southern Asians are too simple to be attracted. Since the start of the Korean War a campaign has been under way to organize the usual instruments for Communist termite-tactics in an area covering Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam. There are "Free Thai," "Free Laotian" and "Free Cambodian" movements, "overseas associations," "liberation armies" and "resistance governments." Laos has a popular front called "Noo Lao Issla"; Cambodia has one called Khmer Issarak." A "resistance government" called "Pathetlao" has been installed in Laos, and in February a "liberation government" for Thailand was set up in southern Yunnan, while the organizational activities were carried out by Nguyen Van Long from Mon Len in eastern Burma. At Mongpong in the Shan States of Burma, a delegation of the Central Committee of Laodong, the Communist Party of the Viet-Minh, supervises all operations.

Although President Eisenhower has decided to divert to Indo-China important military supplies intended for Europe, it is now feared that bad French military planning may have made it impossible for any amount of US help to prevent the Viet-Minh forces from driving south through Laos to the Cambodian border. The political importance of such a drive stems from the intensity of anti-French feeling in Cambodia, proof of which is furnished by the French forcing evacuation of thousands of villagers from the Cambodian side of the border because these might help the Issarak nationalists.

If the Cambodians were to rise in rebellion and support a "liberating army" of the Viet-Minh, the French position throughout Indo-China would be gravely weakened. And still more important, from the viewpoint of Southeast Asia strategy, would be the effect on Thailand, a much more significant country with an equal distaste for the French.

The US has already given more dollars per capita to Thailand than to any other Asian country not actively at war with the Communists. But Thailand is a land of openly accepted corruption in government, and the government is "a monopoly of a clique." Greed has already paved the way for Communists, and it is most unlikely that any US military commander could save the situation as, according to the late Marshal de Lattre de Tassigny, General Brink saved the Viet-Nam.

The key is in France. If Indo-China is to be saved, it must be saved not by more US aid but by a France able and willing to give Asian peoples within the French Union more than they were promised by the treaties of 1949. The "world calling" of France is being tested; deeds, not rhetoric, will count in facing the challenge which Malenkov, Mao and Ho present. At the very least, the French must either give real independence to each of the three Indo-Chinese countries, or they must accept internationalization of the war which the Asians will not fight "for the French."

**But even at this late hour** the French cannot decide on an appeal to the UN. The Cabinet has split and a decision has been postponed. And, tragically, it seems unlikely that France will make either minimum concession so long as even more urgent choices are not made at home. As Hubert Beuve-Méry comments bitterly: "All the problems will remain more or less insoluble, no matter what the country's material and moral resources may be, so long as power in France continues to be parcelled out among ferociously selfish feudalities; so long as a decadent capitalism can corrupt an uninspired socialism lacking deep roots in the masses; so long as occult organizations distributing large sums taken from business, the workers and the tax collector, can dominate the press, the elections and even governments."

The decision rests with France. The consequences of error will rest upon the whole Free World.

# THE HIGH COST OF MR. BURGESS

**by Seymour E. Harris**

IF OUR POTATO supplies were to rise twelve-fold, no one would expect the price of potatoes to double. Yet, while the national debt rose from $22 billion to $250 billion between 1933 and 1945, our government was able to raise the price of its securities. It accomplished this by steadily depressing interest rates, and so it lightened the burden on every taxpayer and home owner.

Now the Eisenhower Administration is bent on reversing this policy. It has set aside the proven methods worked out by former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau. Nine days after it came into power the Administration offered two and one-half percent certificates in exchange for one and seven-eight percent issues. Then, in early April it announced a 30-year issue of government securities at three and one-fourth percent, more than one percent above the long-term rate of 1946. The cost of servicing a national debt of 1946 levels has risen 20 percent and is $1 billion a year.

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In Democratic days the government bond market was supported by the Federal Reserve System. The most outspoken critic of this support, and champion of a free market, was a banker, W. Randolph Burgess. Mr. Burgess, Chairman of the Board of the second largest bank in the nation, is now the guardian of the government bond market. In that post he must distinguish between the interests of the nation and of those who profit from higher interest rates. Mr. Burgess is a man of integrity. But it is as though George Meany or Walter Reuther were named to head the Wage Stabilization Board.

Today, for every one percent Mr. Burgess succeeds in raising interest rates, the banks stand to gain $600 million a year before taxes. Their total gains, since the return on all assets held by banks would follow, are more than $1 billion a year.

And yet these gains are real only to shortsighted men. For if the new interest rate leads to unemployment, the bankers will suffer along with the men on the streets. Bankers will rejoin government officials as maligned persons, and yet they perform essential services. For their own long-range good it would be wiser for the banks to seek a reasonable service charge for managing the national debt, rather than hunger for profits gained from lowering the price of government securities.

**Why this enthusiasm** in the Administration for higher interest rates? Surely it is not to make the market free, for we cannot and should not reach for a free market. The most common explanation is that the security market is supported by the expansion of money and that this is bad because it is inflationary. Undoubtedly there are times when a higher rate of interest may be justified as a means of checking inflation. But anyone conversant with the history of the Federal Reserve System knows that this weapon has been used infrequently and has been found to be clumsy. There are more precise tools, and there is always the danger that instead of stopping a boom, the effect of raising interest rates will be to bring on a depression.

It is interesting to remember that Marriner Eccles, the able banker who managed the Federal Reserve, and who broke with the Truman Administration because he wanted higher interest rates during the years of postwar inflation, is now apparently critical of the Treasury Department for supporting high rates in a period of threatened depression.

Surely in the light of the recent weakness of the stock market, the continued rise in money rates, the record levels of private investment since 1945 and the virtual stability of prices for the last two years despite government spending, the Administration should think twice before basing its policy on the assumption of continued inflation.

What evidence do Administration leaders offer for this assumption? They generally stress the rise of government deficits. But government deficits are quite consistent with a deficiency of total spending. They point to the rise of money supplies. But surely they must know some economic history. If they do they will recall that throughout our history money supplies have risen more rapidly than income—12 times as rapidly over the last 130 years. In 1952 the total supply of money rose by $7 billion and yet the cost of living declined by one and one-half percent.

If inflation is not the explanation of the need for higher interest rates, then what remains? Administration leaders tell us that the banks hold too large a proportion of government securities outstanding, and particularly of short-run securities, the refinancing of which is a constant source of embarrassment. But this approach ignores the continued dependence of the banks on government securities as a means of keeping up the supply of money. It is not business borrowing but the sales of government securities to the banks which has primarily provided the monetary resources over the last 40 years which were required to raise our real income four-fold.

In depreciating low-interest policy, Eisenhower's spokesmen assume that the concern of Democratic Administrations in keeping down interest rates was simply to keep up the price of government securities—that is, to manipulate the market in its own favor as a seller. A fairer presumption is that these Administrations were concerned primarily with the well-being of the economy. However, a good price for securities is a matter of some importance for a segment of the economy which is responsible for one quarter of our economic activity, and perhaps the most important quarter today.

**The objective of the** Eisenhower Administration is to reduce the importance of the government sector of our economy. Why then does it embark on a policy which would have cost this nation an additional $500 billion in the last 20 years had the interest rates of the last Republican Administration prevailed, and which may cost $100 billion in the next 25 years? The government is protected against its own unwisdom to the extent that it now holds $150 billion of securities at low rates which will not mature on the average for five years. Against this, the increased cost of the debt itself presses us in the direction of a continued debt increase.

Back in 1936 Keynes, who is now denounced in Republican circles as a profligate, expressed his consternation at the British Government's intention of using high interest securities to pay off previous issues of low yields. Why today are the men who are so concerned with government spending and waste indifferent to the cost of servicing the national debt?

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# LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

## THE ADVENTURES OF THE MASTER

**by Robert Richman**

IT IS HARD to imagine a subject more tempting for a biographer than Henry James, or one more elusive to coax into the narrows and rapids of a personal history. From either a casual reading of *The Turn of The Screw,* say, or from a special reading of most of the fiction, the essays, notebooks, letters and memoirs of Henry James, the reader will already have been enticed to create his own image of the Master. But regardless of the reader's familiarity with the works of James, Leon Edel's biography

HENRY JAMES: *The Untried Years,* by Leon Edel (Lippincott; $5).

will have fascination and value. To the task of setting down the chronicle of James' first twenty seven years, Mr. Edel brings a very considerable equipment with which he usually gives plausible dimensions to the young Henry James, as he arose out of the intricately intelligent family and from the elaborate milieu of those decades of 1850 to 1870 —an amazing tapestry in which Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman are woven in with Lincoln and the Civil War, with France of the Second Empire, with the England of Queen Victoria, and with the culture of Europe and America charged by the rise of Science.

Mr. Edel approaches all this with a critic's authority and a scholar's devotion, which he turns onto the ore of facts he has mined from the abundant writings of all the James family and their circle of friends. And none of these details are more dextrously manipulated than those which show the young artist in his encounters with Europe—at boyhood, at adolescence and at twenty six; or with the world of books, of plays, and of paintings and sculptures; or with New York City, Newport, Harvard, and Boston; and especially with his New England friends—T. S. Perry, John La Farge the painter, from whom James learned to make "portraits" and "scenes" in words, and William Dean Howells the novelist, his lifelong friend.

His first memory, claimed Henry James, was of the Place Vendome (he was in Paris in his third year). This was the first of many "scenes" and "views" that were to impress James so deeply that "scene" and "point of view" were to become major in his method of fiction. And from his earliest and later visits to the art galleries of Europe, James was to say that there he crossed

> that bridge over to Style constituted by the wondrous Galerie d'Apollon . . . in which I inhaled little by little, that is again and again, a general sense of *glory.* The glory meant ever so many things at once, not only beauty and art and supreme design, but history and fame and power, the world, in fine, raised to the richest and noblest expression.

Thus in Europe in 1869 and 1870, he was moved to take his final vows as an artist. James was to carry "appreciation," this "Style" and "scene" and "point of view," and this "sense of glory," to unknown heights in the realm of the novel in English.

But these were not the only imprints of Europe on James: it was of London's Craven Street in 1869 that he wrote the "whole Dickens procession marched up and down, the whole Dickens world looked out of its queer, quite sinister windows"—Craven Street, which came to a dead end on the Thames, packed "to blackness with accumulations of suffering experience." And Mr. Edel rightly emphasizes that "the future author of *The Princess Casamassima,* relishing the picturesque and the sense of the past, could open his eyes wide as well to the sinister aspects" of the great London he was to honor in that novel, even as Balzac might have done.

Of another aspect of James in Europe, Mr. Edel writes some of his finest sustained criticism: James was to take "the story of the American abroad and play it out in all its variants. It was to remain . . . his greatest subject." James himself said of this theme, there was "no possibility of contrast in the human lot so great as that encountered as we turn back and forth between the distinctively American and the distinctively European outlook." Eighty years ago, at his writing table, Henry James made the proper search to reunite a youthful American art and idea with the European parents of art and ideas. Surely this is not mere expatriation; rather it is the advance guard action of the American intellectuals who tried to understand Europe and the American ties—the importance of which was later to be attested in the carnage and damage of two World Wars and at the conference tables of the world today. Yes, he "had found his great theme."

**Near the end days** of his formative years, in Boston, he came into intimate contact—then a writer of twenty three—with Charles Eliot Norton of the *North American Review* and professor of fine arts at Harvard; with the editor of *The Atlantic,* J. T. Fields, who held it was his duty to publish good books and to have "communion through the printed page with great minds"; with E. L. Godkin, the founding editor of the *Nation;* and with Howells, soon to be the "dean" of American letters. From these vastly important intellectual fields of that America which was coming of age, came Henry James, ready to become her great intellectual, her most cosmopolitan artist, and the great innovator of the novel. To present this James is to perform in the best tradition of biography, which Mr. Edel says "is a reliving and re-examination of someone else's experience."

Consider the word *re-examination,* for it is in the interpretation of James' personal experiences—those with his father, his mother, his brother William, and his cousin Minny—that Mr. Edel, by his own many admissions, enters the

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realm of speculation and analytical psychology. He offers this heritage for James: the father was an amputee, who suffered a Swedenborgian "vastation" (severe breakdown), who had the leisure of wealth and the pursuits of a scholar, but who gave his second son Henry James, Jr. a "mere junior" frustration. The mother, Mary, was "one of the strong-minded firm-handed women swallowing up their men"; thus love of a woman in Henry's mind became a "threat to life"; he chose "the path of safety" and "remained celibate"; he could not permit himself "to fall in love" with Minny Temple (it does not matter to Mr. Edel that she was, after all, Henry's cousin—though to the principals this did matter very much).

To continue: Henry was warped by sibling rivalry with William—the "second son" or the "Jacob and Esau theme."

> Had Henry usurped William's place? While William was away, he could be the first-born with his brother's prerogatives of seniority. . . . We may speculate, therefore that Henry clung to Quincy Street [the family home in Boston] because he could enjoy, over and above the general amenities of home, a sense of power unchallenged.

Yet the James family had moved about continuously. It could be that Henry James, by a conscious act of the will, chose both his celibacy and these four years of utter silence in the Boston home where he could practice the disciplines and work out the mysteries of his art.

There is less speculation, strangely enough, on the one constant mystery of the novelist's life. James had called it "the obscure hurt" and it was serious enough to keep him from service in the Civil War. Mr. Edel thinks that the injury, which was sustained while young James at seventeen was helping to fight a fire in Newport, was a "slipped disc, a sacroiliac or muscular strain" quite similar actually to the serious backaches to which other members of the James family were susceptible. This is *the* incident that has been widely interpreted by other critics as the cause of "James' impotency" or as either "a real or an imagined 'castration'." Since he later wrote that "the obscure hurt" would be with him for a long duration, Mr. Edel proposes that inasmuch as the father's lost limb was a symbol to the children for the ravages of fire in which the father's limb was fatally burned, that Henry, in an unconscious identification with his father (after all, Henry had been injured while *at* a fire and had suffered "a single vast visitation") could claim "he had had his vastation."

Many of these themes and many of these motives do appear in the characters in James' fiction, it is true. Others, James writing when he was seventy, attributes to himself—especially to his childhood years. But what is more disturbing than the speculation that one can find in James' art the explanations of James' life, is the manner in which Mr. Edel has circumvented James' theory of fiction: to be sure the Master had maintained that fiction should be drawn from intimate experience; but that is not to demand of an artist that he write only of that which he has *actually* experienced. This is to ignore the imagination and its function of autogenesis. The essential core of James' theory of art is that experience must be *transformed* into a work of art. James never believed that art was the mere copy of nature: it was the naturalistic novelists—his avowed opponents—who were writing the "slices of life" from the real "raw experience." He was founding the *realist* theory of fiction (Cezanne was founding the *realist* theory of painting at this time) and by that James meant that the novelist was to create from an intimate experience a new reality—the work of art itself.

And how extraordinarily odd that Mr. Edel should not discuss the movements in philosophy and science, which were splitting Europe asunder—its thinkers, its artists, its priests, its statesmen. Yet James was a central figure in that turmoil, for he was founding a theory of fiction. And how strange it is to leave this very capable, highly provocative and well written biography with a feeling that the theory of biography itself needs its own Henry James to come in and set the house in order.

## THE MODERN NOVEL AND THE THEME OF LOVE

**by Elizabeth Bowen**

THE PROBLEM of novel-writing is, how to convey. This may be forgotten, or overlooked, in days when attention seems to be cast on the search for subject. A subject sufficiently unique, striking, should, some authors seem to consider, in itself be able to "carry" the book by its hold on the reader's startled imagination. Actually, what most often happens is that the book which depends on that kind of originality blazes a superficial course (that is, during the term of reading); but, when finished, dissipates in the mind. May it not be found that the classic, the majestic, the enduring novels treat of subjects which *are* rarely unique? The power is in the content; the authority is in the implied knowledge; the innovation is in the manner of telling. An elementary emotional situation, most often, provides the core. We may have ambition stories, life-stories, struggle-for-power stories; but the expectation that the novel should be a love story is hard to break down, and might not perhaps be broken down with impunity. Were it gone, fiction would fight a losing battle against documentary writing; the possibility of masterpieces would decline. The domain of the novel is, what continues to be irrational, yet inevitable, in human behavior—hence, the novel's concern with the nature, and the effects, of love. We are shown not merely persons, but persons placed, willingly or otherwise, in each other's power.

THE ECHOING GROVE, by Rosamond Lehmann (Harcourt, Brace; $3.95).

The situation is timeless; yet, if it is to continue to be felt, it must be felt also, sharply, to be contemporary. Perhaps today, indeed, it seems all the odder—for today we attempt to clarify, we expect to plan, we suspect lesions, we denounce pressures. We have a strong, thinking addiction towards the social. Emotions are against the grain. This makes what might be called the persuasive telling of a love story (as apart from

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a sex story) much more difficult. This accentuates the novelist's main problem, of—as at first stated—how to *convey*. Rosamond Lehmann's handling of the problem is not the least of the triumphs of her new novel, *The Echoing Grove*. She has been so bold, in our time, as to picture the absoluteness, the entirety of love—its power to consume persons, and to consume itself. Her subject dominates, as the subject should—characters are taxed to the last inch, the time-continuity of the story is disrupted. Only consummate, considered, matured art on the part of a novelist could have achieved this—that technical intricacy should be sunk in the emotional power of the whole.

**Scenes, incidents,** radiate outward from the central factor—a man, Rickie, loved by his wife, Madeleine, has a love affair with Madeleine's sister, Dinah. The beginning of the story—in terms, that is, of Miss Lehmann's order of its narration—is in fact its end: the sisters, after fifteen years of estrangement, meet. Rickie is dead; years before his death there had been a break between him and Dinah, who has since then married, whose husband has been since then killed in the Spanish War. Madeleine is, on this late-autumn country afternoon when the widowed sisters go for a walk together, on the eve of a break with a lover, Jocelyn, with whom the beginning of her relationship had preceded Rickie's death. Rickie—though this is known to neither sister—had, within the last week of his life, become the lover of his friend's wife, Georgie. Madeleine once, by an ill-timed, well-meant call at her sister's flat, had inadvertently driven away the young man, Rob, with whom Dinah was making a desperate experiment in happiness. In the background had stood a refugee doctor, Selby, with whom Dinah's relationship is uncertain.

By being gradually given to know the whole, we are caused cumulatively to feel it. When, with the last pages of *The Echoing Grove*, we return to the sisters alone together in the house by the river, in the autumn night, we feel the ring-after-ring of significance round each word which passes between them; we share (with two dead men) knowledge of the origin of the cigarette burn on the bedside table; we react to the irony of the extreme lightness of a pair of cuff-links, weighed on the palm of a woman's hand. What seems the more remarkable is that at the outset—when first we met these two women, as *they* meet on the porch—we should have been caused by Miss Lehmann to apprehend much that she had not even begun to tell us. She charges herself with the relation of incidents whose background cannot be estimated till we have gathered (through travelling back in time) what, and in what manner, had come before them. It is extraordinary that we should be, from the first, so deeply implicated in what we do not yet even know that there is to know.

Much of the strength is due to the placing—that is, to the order of the scenes and their illuminating relation to one another. Each scene is, in effect, a dialogue—A with B, A with C, B with C, C with D, and so on. Seldom are more than two of the protagonists on the stage, or page, together. Unspoken soliloquies link, or frame, the dialogues. What might most nearly be confusing is the movement to and fro in time; the actual action, or, one might more fittingly say, activity, extends over more than ten years. There is not, however, confusion; thanks, in a great part, to Miss Lehmann's unfailing grip on her own time-scheme, and her carefulness in making it clear to us. By a series of light, sure touches—hints, reminders, clues—she instigates or refreshes the reader's memory. She justifies her reliance on concrete detail—the jade links, the Berlin woolwork armchair, glazed flower-pots, a pound note, a blue cotton frock, a pink evening gown.

The novel is well-named. More than one of the characters is aware of love's claustrophobia; and indeed we stand with them in a shaded place in which voices are multiplied, sometimes mocked, by their own echoes, or by echoes of others. The book, in spite of its length and fullness, is constructed with a most masterful economy, in itself tense. Rickie, Dinah, Madeleine unfold, deepen, gain in living complexity with the addition of each revealing scene. They fail one another; they diminish before each other's eye's. What is wrong—or is something in Nature changing? Change in women as women, in men as men, in their needs, in their efficacy for one another, is the suggested answer—even, the submerged theme. We are brought face to face with the tragic contemporary predicament: Modern Love.

## PAST AND PRESENT

THE DECLINE OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA, by Hugh Seton-Watson (Praeger; $7.50).
THE SOVIET IMPACT ON SOCIETY, by Dagobert D. Runes (Philosophical Library; $3.75).

IN THE FALL of 1917, four conditions prevailed in Russia, all of which combined gave Lenin his opportunity: overpopulation and mass-misery; a revolutionary intelligentsia; a conspiratorial party; and finally, the collapse, due to a blow from without, of the existing state machine. All four conditions existed recently in China too, and though they exist nowhere else at present, potentially they can be found in many lands from Latin America to Asia, and throughout southern and eastern Europe. They are responsible for most of the headaches that beset the statesmen of our day. Thus the history of the last decades of pre-Lenin Russia is of immediate contemporary interest: the question arises whether the catastrophe could have been averted by wiser policies. The new book by Hugh Seton-Watson, professor of Russian history at London University, tries to answer this question by an array of pertinent facts and with an impressive wisdom in evaluating them.

Modern Russian history began in 1855 when the defeat in the Crimean War made it apparent that the social and cultural structure of the vast imperial state-machine needed a thorough overhauling. Alexander II made some attempts in that direction. It was Russia's misfortune that he soon abandoned these reforms; a long period of reaction followed, until in 1905 the Russian empire received a second chance to catch up with the spiritual and political advances made by Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many Russians understood the need; especially from 1900 on, the

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cultural Westernization, the feeling for freedom, the growth of individual initiative and self-responsibility were advancing throughout the nation. But the autocracy and the nationalist pride of the governing circles hindered true reform.

Professor Seton-Watson's book destroys the legend that Russia, in 1914, was still a backward country. The autocracy and the ruling ideology were backward, but the Russian people had learned, through their own initiative and against all the hindrances imposed by the government, to travel the road towards the West. It is one of the good points of the book that it does not, as most books in that field do, neglect the development of the non-Russian nationalities, which formed more than half of the empire's population. Some of them were more advanced than the Great Russians. But all progress was cut short by World War I, which was caused by the Austrian and Russian governments being driven onwards by the ever more acute national and social problems within their own borders. The internal tensions of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires—and not Anglo-German commercial or naval rivalry—brought about the war; the peoples of the two empires have also been the greatest sufferers from the consequences of the war.

**Dagobert D. Runes,** in a short and popularly written book, shows clearly that the people of the former Russian empire suffered more than anyone else from the outcome of World War I. Lenin's triumph reversed the progressive trend of half a century of Russian development. Mr. Runes wrote his book fifteen years ago, and assures the reader that it has been published without the slightest change. It reads like a story written today. Stalin of 1937 was not different from Stalin of 1952. The pre-Lenin autocracy and ideological conceit continued under Lenin and Stalin: the struggle for emancipation of Russian society, which had gone on under the tsars and which raised so many hopes for a free Russia, was, however, entirely suppressed after November 1917.

HANS KOHN

## THE REVIVAL OF DAISY

THIS NOVEL, first published in 1929 and written much under the influence of Proust and Joyce, was intended, like *Ulysses* and *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu,* to be a sort of symphonic arrangement. The main theme is of course the relationship between the narrator and Daisy. This narrator is supposed to be a typical example of the American intellectuals of the twenties, who is always attempting to formulate an attitude toward life in the United States, and Daisy the American reality, which is always eluding his grasp. By shifting the elements of the situation in each of the five sections, I aimed, in each one of these, to produce a different mood to bring out a different point of view. In each of them except the third the mood and the point of view were to have as their representative the personality of one of the characters, which would dominate the mind of the narrator and preside over the section as a whole. In the first, it is Hugo Bamman, with his revolt against bourgeois society and his social revolutionary ideas; in the second, it is Rita, the romantic poet. In the third, the narrator is adrift in the void, with no planet to gravitate about: the world in which he finds himself now appears to him anarchic and amoral, and the point of view is more or less materialistic, with an emphasis on animal behavior. Here the place of the interpolated character sketch that figures in the first, second and fourth sections is taken by the disquisition on literature regarded as a desperate effort to create an illusion that the world makes sense. In the fourth section my hero recovers himself under the influence of the metaphysician Grosbeake, who instils into him a certain idealism and induces in him a certain serenity. In each of these states of mind, he has made a different image of Daisy, has tried to fit her into a different system; but in the fifth and final section, she herself becomes the dominant character. Since he effects a real union with her, there is here no interpolation—disquisition or character sketch—that sets off the point of view from the narrative and is not assimilated by it: Daisy simply tells about her own life. The point of view—or state of mind—here is instinctive, democratic, pragmatic. My hero has at last, for the moment, made connections with the common life. And just as this narrator is made to slip from orbit to orbit of a series of planets, so Daisy is shown to pass from one to another of a series of partners, in each of whom she tries to believe. Phil Meissner, Ray Coleman, Pete Bird were intended as pygmy specimens of familiar American types.

*I Thought of Daisy* is thus very schematic, and the scheme does not always succeed, for it is sometimes at odds with the story. In rereading the book for the first time since I wrote it, I have sometimes been rather appalled by the rigor with which I sacrificed to my plan of five symphonic movements what would normally have been the line of the story. There is no satisfactory account of the narrator's relations with Rita, though the reader must have been led to expect it—since, though Rita is more interesting than Daisy, her role had to be kept to proportions that would not prevent Daisy from playing the central role; nor could I, for similar reasons, allow her to be too sympathetic. Yet, in spite of this, she otherwise upsets the scheme by attracting too much attention when she appears in the opening section, which is supposed to be dominated by Hugo.

The elements of the life I describe have of course been much more violently shaken up since *I Thought of Daisy* was written. In the decades that followed, my hero might have become a New Dealer, a Marxist, a professor of American literature or some combination of these. Some time in the late thirties, at the time when the Soviet bureaucracy had eliminated the Bolsheviks and was coming to seem respectable and Communism was a passport to power in an impending international bureaucracy, I thought of doing a brief sequel to

*The editors are grateful to Mr. Wilson and to the publishers for permission to print this essay, the new foreword to Mr. Wilson's novel* I Thought of Daisy *to be re-issued on May 21 (Farrar, Straus and Young, $1.50; Ballantine, $.35).*

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*Daisy,* in which she would be seen as she would say, "under the management" of some Washington official or radio executive or broker, also of pygmy size, who would be giving himself a sense of importance and enjoying a good deal of excitement through an underground connection with the Communists. Daisy would be just as unmoved by the meetings and missions of him and his friends as she had been by the interests of her other partners, and she would make the same wisecracks about them, while her present set would go on drinking, playing bridge and making passes at one another's girls with the conviction that these activities had been given a new dignity by being used to cover up operations which would eventually prove world-shaking and land them somehow at the top of the heap. I was deterred from writing this sequel by reflecting that very few people would at that date remember Daisy; but now that she is being revived, I might have added it here if I had been able to find the notes that I thought I had made at the time. Not finding them is no great loss. By the time you have finished this book, if you do, you will no doubt have had enough of Daisy; and everybody has now heard enough about the people I was meaning to satirize.

EDMUND WILSON

## THE RARE BIRD

EX-PRODIGY: *My Childhood and Youth,* by Norbert Wiener (Simon and Schuster; $3.95).

IN ANY ten thousand people, anywhere in the world, about one thousand will be approximately 25 percent higher in native intelligence than the average for the group. Roughly one hundred fifty persons will be 50 percent higher, and about three will exceed the norm by 75 percent. Prof. Norbert Wiener of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is certainly one of the three in ten thousand and possibly of a still higher and scarcer group, perhaps one in a million. Partly because of this fact, he was what is called an infant prodigy; after very little formal schooling at the primary or secondary level, he entered college at twelve, took his A.B. degree before he was fifteen, and was a Doctor of Philosophy at nineteen.

High intelligence does not automatically mean that you become a prodigy of this sort. Even in the United States, which makes a fetish of higher education, the authorities in this field believe that at least half of the "geniuses" (people with an IQ of 140 or more) get far less training than is consonant with their abilities. In Wiener's case he was hounded into rapid assimilation of a lot of facts by a singularly overbearing and uncomprehending father, whose bullying tactics were excessive even in a day when harsh fathers were the rule. Nowadays, very few people would be so stupid to send a boy to college at twelve, where the disparity between his physical size and development and those of his classmates would be almost certain to create a neurosis. Today, educators try to keep highly gifted children with those of their own chronological age, but to give them an "enriched curriculum" which will make good use of their superior inherent powers.

When Wiener was a child, such commonsense was almost unknown. He was one of a group of five infant prodigies who were all at Harvard simultaneously, all of them living in a blaze of publicity that was half ruinous. Certainly, the publicity, his father's harsh possessiveness and, doubtless, some other things, half-ruined Wiener. When he got out into the world and had to earn his own living, he was painfully lacking in social poise and tact. He insists that he did not know until he was sixteen that he was Jewish, and in a day when anti-Semitism was even worse and more open than it is today, the discovery threw him into agonies of uncertainty in which he fluctuated between servility and arrogance.

Although he had early demonstrated unusual powers as a mathematician, he was more than thirty before he found the berth at M.I.T. that he has occupied with distinction for nearly three decades. Before that time, he floundered for about ten years in an unhappy succession of dreary jobs, in which he found it impossible to get along with other people and from most of which he was dismissed primarily for this reason. The thick-headed father, himself a brilliant philologist and long a professor at Harvard, continued to muck up his son's life even when Norbert was in his twenties; among other things he several times forced his son to go back on his pledged word.

It will be a pity if this book helps to revive an old myth, that high intelligence is automatically associated with neurotic traits, or even with physical weakness. On the contrary, as Dr. Lewis Terman has shown in his historic study of genius, the highly gifted child, given a normal upbringing, is usually about as much above the average in emotional stability and moral responsibility as he is in intelligence, and is frequently superior in physique as well. Dr. Catharine Cox Miles, another distinguished authority, points out that as a group, the gifted are "kind, trustworthy, conscientious, persistent, cool-tempered, physically and mentally active, and modest."

Wiener has deliberatedly avoided writing his book in Freudian terms, but these are not needed to see the sort of harm that was done to the boy. That he survived all this to become a distinguished educator, father of the group of ideas he calls "Cybernetics," is a testimonial to the wonderful resilience of the human spirit. His book, dealing only with the first thirty years of his life, is necessarily a pretty gloomy affair; perhaps if he writes a sequel, bringing the story down to date, it may be more cheerful.

BRUCE BLIVEN


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## ON BEING READ TO

**by Eric Bentley**

OUR NEW HABIT of being read to is good and bad. It is good insofar as it indicates an interest in the spoken language. It is bad insofar as it indicates our fear of being alone, our lack of concentration, our pre-occupation with that part of an author's personality that reveals itself less in his works than in his platform appearances.

I am referring to the less defensible of the two current types of reading aloud: reading by authors. Reading by actors seems to me more proper because reading is part of the actor's craft; a bad reader is (to that extent) a bad actor. Though authors may have an especially accurate knowledge of the tone and rhythm of their own work, they do not, as authors, have the ability to communicate that tone and rhythm to others by means of the voice. As to their personalities being right for the job, that will make no difference except insofar as they are actors and can externalize their personalities in performance. Until the art of presentation has been perfected in a man, his personality can only function in his performance as an interference. It is true that such an interference may be of interest; of more interest than some literature; to many people, of more interest than any literature. But this is not to say it is good performing, good reading. When we hear a poet read and call him terrific, we mean that we are impressed by him as a person and that we are amazed to learn he has so loud and enthusiastic (or soft and mellow) a vocal organ. When we want his poems read to us, we send for an actor.

There are two current types of actor-readers: the reader of a single role, whether on the radio or in a "drama quartet," and the reader of many roles (the latter being half-way to the one man —or woman—theatre of Ruth Draper). Emlyn Williams has perfected this second type. Insofar as he stands at his little table and reads a narrative in the third person, he is a pure reader. But when he comes to dialogue, he reads the speeches with full characterization in the voice and approximate characterization of posture, gesture, and facial expression. Not that the text can be chopped in two quite so cleanly. Mr. Williams will begin to take on a character's voice when he is described in the narrative. He will also embellish the narrative passage with any noises and gestures that may be intimated in them. The diagnostic of Williams the reader, as of Laughton the reader, is that he has a complete actor's technique to draw on. Where the amateur would use gestures of mere emphasis, Williams will choose an action with a reference: a quick movement of the hand to the face will tell us someone has been splashed in the eye. Or he will build a whole scene by a repeated turn of the head—to see if the speaker's companion is listening. Abstract gestures can be added at more solemn moments: at the end of a chapter he will "freeze" under the dimming lights with one arm outstretched.

**To read fiction** in this manner asks more of an actor than taking a part in a play, and it is largely for his virtuosity that Williams has been praised; the public has been asked to see in him a brilliant freak. But since the public is at present declining the invitation, I want to urge that there is a better reason for seeing either of Williams' current programs, namely, that he is presenting the work of Charles Dickens, and this with such intensity as to make us see the novelist's work freshly, as after reading a great critic. Like a critic, Williams can only bring certain qualities out at the expense of others. Two hours of reading from a novel that would take 60 hours to read entire cannot but be "unfair"; Dickens not only needs many words for certain of his best effects, bulk is with him an essential quality; one would not offer a friend a thimblefull of beer, and Dickens never offered us a thimblefull of fiction. On the other hand, to isolate certain portions of Dickens is to find unsuspected felicities. What one appreciates in Williams' Mixed Bill is, first, the mastery of the individual scene and, second, the force of the individual word and phrase. In trying to present *Bleak House* as a whole Williams was undertaking something much more risky. He boldly cuts the last two hundred pages of the book, and tells the story of Lady Dedlock's secret in three acts, ending with the murder of Tulkinghorn.

Some of the episodes have the same kind of merit as the items on the Mixed Bill. There is the perfectly theatrical use of the hand-screen by Lady Dedlock in the "scene" where Guppy starts revealing her past. There are "scenes" of Mrs. Jellyby at home (though her thoughts are never nearer than Africa) and Mrs. Pardiggle inflicting her ferocious philanthropy on the poor. Devastating phrases are assigned not only to Chadband but the Turveydrops and the Badgers. Other kinds of merit are peculiar to *Bleak House*. Williams' editing (particularly his elimination of Esther as narrator) sharpens the satire and underscores Dickens' powers of sheer narration. I am surely not alone in having rather neglected Dickens' plot for his scenes and characters. When stripped of some of the moralistic rhetoric the Gothic narrative in *Bleak House* comes to seem pretty impressive. And within our idea of narrative we must include not only the bare roster of incidents but the connection, as made by Dickens, between one set of events and another, between events and society, between society and the cosmos. One is impressed in Williams' reading with the way in which Dickens will let his story broaden out at the end of a chapter into the lament of a Greco-Victorian chorus or will start a chapter with the world to which the new group of characters belongs. Though *Bleak House* remains a little vague for all that either Dickens or Williams can do, one had a strong sense at the reading of both London, "the great confused city," and Chesney Wold in the swamps of Lincolnshire, the two places being twin poles of the action. . . .

The points Williams manages to make are too many to mention but I hope these few examples suffice to prove that his performance is something for open eyes as well as an open mouth. It is the fruit of intelligence, not only of dexterity; it is the fruit of love, not only of intelligence. Which might explain why some people aren't sinking their teeth in it.

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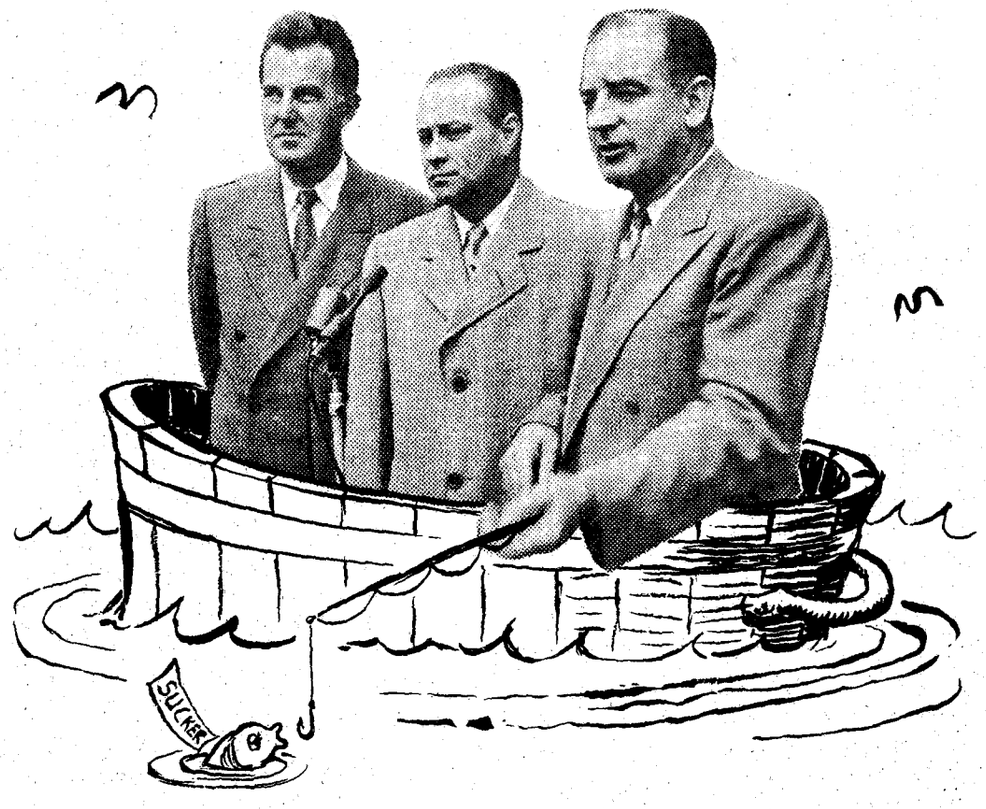


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